CHAPTER 1

The Chumash at a Crossroads

Theoretical Considerations

Ever since we first began meeting with houses laid out like towns, which was at Santa Catalina de Bononia, the villages have all been continuing to be this way, and the ones encountered are much more populous every day, with the inhabitants living in regular towns with very good sized grass houses, round like half oranges, some of which are so large within that they must be able to lodge without hindrance sixty persons and more. . . . They have their own kind of government, two, three, or four chiefs, and one of these chiefs is the headman, who gives orders to everyone.

Crespí on August 20, 1769, in Brown 2001:425

Imagine how impressed Father Juan Crespí and the soldiers that accompanied Captain Gaspar de Portolá must have been as they marched into the Santa Barbara Channel region during the first land expedition to Alta California, while in search of the harbor of Monterey. They saw large towns[1] with houses lined up in rows packed closely together. As they passed these settlements with house roofs piled high with barbecued fish (Brown 2001:391), they were entertained and fed by the Chumash. The Spanish were offered so much fish and other food that they threw some away (Brown 2001:409). This was only weeks after the expedition had left San Diego, where they had been on the verge of starvation. Eventually, the Portolá expedition, after experiencing considerable hardships, established the first permanent settlements in California.

This book is about the Chumash that Crespí encountered in 1769. At the time that Crespí journeyed through the Santa Barbara area, the

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Chumash were thriving, and had reached a level of considerable sociopolitical complexity. They were the nexus of a far-reaching exchange network that used shell beads as money. They had mastered the art of building plank boats *(tomols)* that allowed them to cross the Channel to the offshore islands safely and swiftly and return laden with large stone bowls and other trade goods. Canoes enabled fishermen to venture into deep waters to catch swordfish weighing as much as 600 pounds. The Chumash lived in large houses clustered in towns, some with several chiefs. They were some of the only hunter-gatherer groups in the world that had regional chiefs who wielded power beyond the boundaries of their own settlements. The Chumash buried chiefs and other high-ranking individuals inside the plank boats, surrounded by thousands of beads to honor them in their journey to the afterlife. Their cemeteries were separated from day-to-day activities and clearly marked with painted poles and grave markers. The Chumash also had large ceremonial grounds where they danced, played music, and sang, and where special initiates performed in sacred enclosures. Chumash men and women dressed differently from one another, as did people of different status. According to some of the earliest historical accounts (e.g., Crespí in Brown 2001:367–369; Fages in Priestley 1937:320), men usually went naked but painted their bodies, wore their long hair up wrapped with cords and attached shell beads, and occasionally wore waist-length fur capes. Some had feather headdresses. The chiefs could be distinguished from others by their fur capes draping to the ankles, and the carved bone pins in their hair—some inlaid with shell beads—that were attached to long chert knives. Women (as well as two-spirits)[2] wore two deer or otter skins as skirts. Both men and women adorned themselves with shell beads and ornaments.

The lives of the Chumash who resided in the large mainland settlements are reconstructed in this book on the basis of several collaborative sources of evidence. Information from ethnohistoric documents, comparative ethnography, ecology, archaeological investigations, and biological anthropology are synthesized to create a portrayal of what life was like for the Chumash Indians in a traditional mainland town before their existence was changed forever. The era of culture contact provides a tremendous source of information because of the rich ethnohistoric and ethnographic record that is available for the region. Moreover, these independent lines of evidence can be employed—in conjunction with archaeological and biological data—to evaluate interpretations using a comparative approach (e.g., Lightfoot 1995).

At the time of European contact, the mainland population centers had the highest population densities in the Santa Barbara Channel region;

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the offshore islands, the interior, and the area north of Point Conception were more sparsely populated. A greater variety and number of shell beads, which were used both as currency and as status markers, were being produced. Artifact assemblages included an abundance of prestige goods, such as finely woven baskets, steatite comals and ollas, huge shaped pestles, and carefully hewn bowl mortars. The plank canoe, the most expensive possession that a Chumash owned (Gamble 2002a; Hudson et al. 1978), was an essential component in the exchange of prestige goods. Because of the costs involved, the ownership of canoes was highly restricted. Early explorers described the *tomol* during essentially every major excursion to the Santa Barbara Channel region and were clearly impressed by the watercraft.

Significance of Research

Although considerable research has been carried out on Chumash society, no one has focused on the mainland population centers at the time of historic contact. The relative lack of publications on the mainland settlements at their peak of complexity has left scholars with only a partial understanding of economic transactions, political power, and social interactions throughout the Chumash region. This book is intended to fill that void. The emphasis will be placed on settlements that were centrally located within the Chumash region, and on how the leaders in those centers managed and retained power. Sources of power are discussed in the context of socioeconomic interactions, and the role of leaders in the centers is contrasted with that of leaders in peripheral areas. Wealth finance, status differentiation, technological innovations such as the plank canoe, warfare, feasting, and other dynamics of social organization are considered and linked to theoretical discussions on the nature of power.

The period between the first documented European interaction with the Chumash in 1542 and the Portolá overland expedition in 1769 is known as the protohistoric period (Erlandson and Bartoy 1995). The Portolá expedition of 1769 initiated Spanish settlement in the region and began the period that witnessed the most drastic changes to Chumash lifeways. The year 1769 is considered the beginning of the historic period, because prior to this date contact was only sporadic. Jon Erlandson and Kevin Bartoy (1995), as well as others (Erlandson et al. 2001; Preston 1996; Walker and Hudson 1993; Walker and Johnson 1992, 1994; Walker et al. 2005), have suggested that the Chumash may have been exposed to Old World diseases between 1542 and 1769; these diseases could have reduced their

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population significantly. Nevertheless, conclusive evidence for devastating diseases during this period has not yet been identified. Although it is not the focus of this research, the consequences of European colonization on Chumash society will be addressed. The primary intent of this book, however, is to use independent lines of evidence to reconstruct Chumash society at the height of its sociopolitical complexity and address the question of the political strategies that probably existed in the large mainland centers.

The greatest population density in the Chumash region involved several settlements clustered around the Goleta Slough, which contained close to 2000 inhabitants. One of these towns, situated on Mescalitan Island in the middle of the slough, was the historic settlement of *Helo'* (CA-SBA-46). I focus on *Helo'* in this volume because of its prominence at the time of contact, and because various excavations at the site have revealed important information on Chumash household activities (Gamble 1990, 1991) and mortuary customs (Olson 1930; Putnam et al. 1879). House floors, storage pits, and hearths at *Helo'* have been meticulously excavated, processed, and analyzed. Floors, rarely identified on the mainland, had previously never been excavated and analyzed using modern techniques. Ethnobotanical studies were carried out for macro and micro remains from these features. These studies and other analyses have furthered our understanding of household organization and production during the historic period.

Early archaeological investigations on the mainland primarily focused on the excavation of cemeteries, in an attempt to collect museum-quality objects. These data supplement more recent information on domestic activities. H. C. Yarrow led an 1875 Smithsonian Institution expedition that excavated a portion of the historic cemetery on Mescalitan Island, where an abundance of finely crafted burial goods was discovered (Putnam et al. 1879:35). Approximately 50 years later, a different portion of the historic cemetery was excavated by a team of archaeologists from UC Berkeley led by Ronald Olson (1930). Information from both projects is significant because the cemetery was one of the largest in the region dating to the historic period. Data on status differentiation, sociopolitical organization, and household activities at *Helo'* provide the reader a glimpse of what life was like at a major mainland center at the time of contact.

One reason that most research-oriented archaeology in recent years has been focused on the northern Santa Barbara Channel Islands instead of on the mainland is that bulldozers, gophers, and other cultural and natural sources of disturbance have seriously impacted the mainland coastal

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strip between Point Conception and Malibu. In comparison, the offshore islands are relatively pristine, with very little development and no burrowing rodents. Numerous features on the islands are intact, and house depressions can still be seen on the surface. Many publications on the Chumash over the last thirty years reflect this unbalanced pattern of archaeological research (Arnold 1987, 1990, 1992a, 2001a, 2001b; Colten 1995; Colten and Arnold 1998; Erlandson 1991a; Erlandson and Rick 2002a; Erlandson et al. 1996, 1999; Kennett 2005; Kennett and Kennett 2000; Rick 2007). Similarly, the most up-to-date scholarly book on the prehistory of the Chumash is focused on Santa Cruz Island (Arnold 2001a, 2001b). However, the few exceptions are worth noting. John Johnson (1988, 2000), using mission documents and ethnohistoric sources, has reconstructed population figures for both the mainland and the islands and has used this information to examine sociopolitical and economic complexity. Michael Glassow (1996) published a book on Chumash prehistory and maritime adaptations in the Vandenberg region on the mainland north of Point Conception. Other books (Erlandson 1994; King 1990a) on the Chumash have discussed mainland sites, but have not concentrated on the historic period. One of the best known volumes on the Chumash (although from a much earlier era) is David Banks Rogers's (1929) *Prehistoric Man of the Santa Barbara Coast,* a classic guide to prehistoric sites over a 10,000-year period on the mainland and islands. Although Rogers provided important information on mainland Chumash sites, he did not systematically collect data, did not synthesize his data, nor did he address the nature of sociopolitical complexity in the region. In addition, Rogers did not have the wealth of comparative data that exists today that would have allowed for a regional synthesis. Archaeologists have continued to excavate mainland Chumash sites since Rogers's era, especially since the advent of environmental regulations and contract archaeology. Nevertheless, no one has synthesized information on the mainland coast in order to address the nature of Chumash political and economic complexity at the time of historic contact.

Despite the obstacles that have affected the preservation of sites on the mainland coast, a considerable body of information on this significant region does exist. During European exploration of southern California, extensive accounts were written by priests, soldiers, and others looking for areas to settle and colonize. These invaluable ethnohistoric sources, combined with data gleaned from archaeological and ethnographic investigations over the past 100 years, provide an impressive body of literature on the Chumash during this period.

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Overview of the Chumash

The Chumash occupied the region from Topanga Canyon in the south to the Monterey County line in the north, and eastward to the San Joaquin Valley. In addition to this large mainland area, the Chumash lived on the northern Santa Barbara Channel Islands of Santa Cruz, Santa Rosa, San Miguel, and Anacapa. Relatively recent cultural and linguistic research, as well as DNA evidence, suggest that the Chumash probably had an ancient presence in the Santa Barbara Channel area, and that they were not a series of separate groups that entered the region and replaced or blended with the previous inhabitants (Erlandson 1994; Johnson and Lorenz 2006; King 1990a). A number of common chronologies are used in the Santa Barbara Channel region, most of which are variations of Chester King's 1990a chronology (table 1). In 1992, Jeanne Arnold introduced the concept of a Middle-Late Transitional period based on the emergence of greater sociopolitical complexity between AD 1150 and AD 1300. Jon Erlandson and Roger Colten (1991) proposed a shift in King's chronology after calibrating the radiocarbon dates for the region. Since that time, Doug Kennett (2005) has further refined the chronology based on calibrated dates. Kennett (2005:82) points out that King's Middle period, phase 5, correlates reasonably well with Arnold's Middle-Late Transitional period when the dates are calibrated.

The coastal Chumash were hunter-gatherers who subsisted primarily on marine products (including fish, shellfish, and sea mammals) and wild plant foods such as acorns. They also utilized terrestrial mammals and birds, but to a lesser extent. As did many other California Indians, the Chumash relied heavily on stored goods, especially during the winter months when many foods were less abundant. Acorns could be stored for several years. Other important foods that were stored by the Chumash included Islay (Wild Cherry), small seeds such as Chia (Sage), dried and smoked fish, and dried meat from deer and other mammals (King 2000:39–40). Storage allowed the Chumash to have a reliable source of food throughout the year, even in years when harvests proved unreliable. Without the storage of important resources, the population densities of the Chumash would not have been as great as they were.

The population of the Chumash at historic contact has been estimated to have been between 18,000 and 20,000 people (Cook 1976:37–38; Johnson 1998:i). Population figures for this period are rough estimates because of the difficulty in measuring the impact that European diseases had on population sizes during the contact era. During the protohistoric period,

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TABLE 1. Chronology for the Santa Barbara Channel Region

Period	Kennett (2005), Calibrated (BC–AD)	Arnold (1992, 2001a)	King (1990)	Lambert (1994)
Historic	AD 1782–1804	Historic 1782+	Late 3, AD 1782–1804	Late
Late 2	AD 1670–1782	Late, AD 1300–1782	Late 2b, AD 1650–1782	
			Late 2a, AD 1500–1650	
Late 1	AD 1380–1670		Late 1c, AD 1400–1500	
		Late 1b, AD 1250–1400		
		Late 1a, AD 1150–1250		
		Transitional, AD 1150–1300		
Middle 5	AD 1170–1380	Middle, 600 BC–AD 1150	Middle 5 c, AD 1050–1150 Middle 5b, AD 1000–1050 Middle 5a, AD 900–1000	Late Middle
Middle 4	AD 980–1170		Middle 4, AD 700-900	
Middle 3	AD 660–980		Middle 3, AD 400-700	
Middle 2	AD 170–660		Middle 2b, AD 200–400 Middle 2a, 200 BC–AD 200	Early Middle
Middle 1	490 BC–AD 170		Middle 1, 600–200 BC	
Early z	970–490 BC	Early, 5500–600 BC	Early z, 1000–600 BC	Late Early
Early yb	3590–970 BC		Early yb, 3000–1000 BC	
Early ya	4650–3590 BC		Early ya, 4000–3000 BC	Early Early
Early x	6120–4650 BC		Early x, 5500–4000 BC	

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several European expeditions entered the Chumash region after Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo's 1542 trip, including those of Pedro de Unamuno in 1587, Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño in 1595, and Sebastián Vizcaíno in 1602–03 (Erlandson and Bartoy 1995). During the late sixteenth century, the flourishing trade between New Spain and Asia involving spices and silk affected California, since California's west coast was a significant landmark after the long ocean crossing from Manila (Beebe and Senkiwicz 2001:38). Numerous undocumented contacts between sailors involved in the Manila galleon trade and Native Californians undoubtedly occurred between 1565 and the arrival of the Portolá expedition in 1769. Diaries from some of these explorations, records from the mission period that followed, and later ethnographic research on the Chumash have allowed researchers to partially reconstruct the political, economic, religious, and social life of the Chumash at the time of European contact. A brief overview of Chumash social organization is provided here, with a more detailed discussion of different aspects of their culture in subsequent chapters.

The political system of the Chumash was primarily organized at the village level. Each village was headed by a hereditary chief; in addition, there were many other specialists who wielded considerable influence (Blackburn 1975, 1976; L. King 1969). Some settlements had more than one chief, and Johnson (1988) has suggested that these villages were political centers. There is additional evidence that the Chumash had regional chiefs with jurisdiction over many villages (Blackburn 1975; L. King 1969).

It is important to remember that although the Chumash shared many cultural traits, "the Chumash were neither a cultural nor a linguistic entity *per se*" (Blackburn 1975:8). Recently, the Chumashan language family, which appears to be a linguistic isolate, has been broken into three branches, Northern Chumash (Obispeño), Central Chumash (Purismeño, Ineseño, Barbareño, and Ventureño), and Island Chumash (Cruzeño) (Goddard 1996:320). My focus will be on the Barbareño (figure 1), although some information from coastal sites in the Ventureño, Purismeño, and other mainland regions is presented.

The Chumash had a highly developed economic system in which shell beads were used as money (King 1976). The production of shell beads as a standardized, portable medium of exchange was a complex, specialized industry that was linked to two areas of craft specialization and was centered primarily on the offshore Channel Islands (Arnold 1987; King 1976). Seaworthy plank canoes, which were costly to build and maintain, provided a means of transport for the exchange of goods between the mainland and the islands. Shell beads were also exchanged outside the Chumash

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FIGURE 1 Linguistic groups of the Chumash

region; they have been found in the Southwest and the Great Basin (Bennyhoff and Hughes 1987; King 1990a).

Development of Chumash Sociopolitical Complexity

Most scholars working in the Chumash region recognize that a simple chiefdom level of organization existed at the time of historic contact (Arnold 1992a, 2001a, 2001b; Kennett and Kennett 2000; King 1990a; Martz 1984). Simple chiefdoms, in contrast to complex chiefdoms, have smaller polity sizes and a system of graduated ranking as opposed to emergent stratification (Earle 1991; Johnson and Earle 2000). There are a variety of explanations as to how the simple chiefdoms of the Chumash were organized and why they developed. Many suggest that environmental change played a critical role in the development of sociopolitical complexity in the region (Arnold 1992a; Johnson 2000; Kennett and Kennett 2000). Arnold (1992a) argues that social ranking among the Chumash developed around A.D. 1200–1300, and explains its origin as involving the manipulation of labor by rising elites within a context of political opportunism and environmental degradation. Recently, Arnold (2001a) has

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suggested that the control of labor by a small group of leaders, a factor that stimulated social ranking, was associated with technological innovation. Kennett and Kennett (2000) agree with Arnold that climatic change played an important role in the emergence of sociopolitical complexity, but identify a period of high marine productivity and terrestrial drought between A.D. 450–1300 as being critical. The timing and nature of their climatic reconstruction differs significantly from Arnold's. Kennett and Kennett (2000:392) propose that as a result of the earlier climatic change, the region witnessed greater sedentism, an intensification of fishing practices, more trade, and an increase in regional violence.

Others, such as King (1990a), do not recognize climatic change as significant in the emergence of sociopolitical complexity in the region. King suggests that a ranked society involving a hereditary elite first appeared in the Santa Barbara Channel area many years earlier than proposed by Arnold or the Kennetts. On the basis of detailed analyses of burial associations and their changes through time, King argues that social ranking appeared about 2,600 years ago, at the end of the Early period. However, despite differing views on the timing and reasons for sociopolitical complexity in the Chumash region, most scholars agree that by some hundreds of years before historic contact, social ranking was fully developed in the Chumash region and hereditary chiefs were in power.

Several issues relevant to the sociopolitical and economic interactions of the Chumash are addressed in this volume. One issue is the role of large population centers in the regional economic, political, and ceremonial interactions of the Chumash. I propose that important individuals in the large mainland centers played a significant role in the control of economic interactions between the mainland coast and the smaller settlements on the northern Channel Islands, in the interior of the Chumash region, on the outskirts of the Chumash territory, and outside the Chumash region. The production and ownership of canoes were undoubtedly critical factors in controlling the exchange system between the islands and the mainland. Timothy Earle (2001:30) has stated that control can more readily be applied when transportation technology is more restricted. Families with inherited political power living in the large Chumash population centers possessed considerable wealth, including the ownership of the plank canoes used to transport exchange goods between the islands and the mainland. Chiefly families intermarried with other chiefly families from surrounding Chumash settlements (Johnson 1988), thereby creating and strengthening sociopolitical ties between regions. Chiefs and wealthy individuals who owned canoes exerted considerable control in the exchange system involving the mainland and the islands.

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It is likely that the demand for currency in large centers, as well as in smaller settlements both within and outside the Chumash area, served as a major impetus for the intensive bead-making activities on the islands. Moreover, beads were a form of social storage (O'Shea and Halstead 1989), the core of an institutionalized mechanism that allowed the Chumash to ensure adequate food supplies through a highly developed exchange system in which food from one region was exchanged for beads from another. The significance of durable goods (bead currency) in the development of inequalities in wealth, rank, and power is discussed in chapters 7 and 8.

Questions regarding the relationship between the islanders and the inhabitants of the mainland settlements are also addressed in this volume. Were people living on the mainland less powerful than the money-producing islanders? Or did the inhabitants of the large mainland centers strongly influence the exchange system, with the islanders performing labor-intensive specialized activities in order to acquire food and other exchange items? In order to address these and other questions, the settlement patterns and cultural landscape on the mainland coast are reconstructed through the use of ethnohistoric documents, mission register data (Johnson 1988), archaeological information, and (to a lesser extent) ethnographic sources. Multiple lines of evidence relevant to the sociopolitical and economic interactions within the Chumash network are presented in order to gain a better understanding of the production, distribution, and consumption of the goods that are found in the mainland sites.

Theoretical Considerations

Several studies have addressed the issue of complex hunter-gatherers, which Price and Brown's (1985) volume on the emergence of cultural complexity among prehistoric hunter-gatherers has brought to the forefront. Since the publication of this important volume, discussions about North American hunter-gatherer complexity on the Northwest Coast (e.g., Ames 1994, 1995; Ames and Maschner 1999; Hayden 1995; Maschner 1991), in the southeastern United States (Marquadt 2001), and in California (Arnold 1995, 2001a, 2001b; Gamble et al. 2001; Kennett 2005; Kennett and Kennett 2000) have become common. In a recent book on the Northwest Coast, Kenneth Ames and Herbert Maschner (1999) identify characteristics of complex hunter-gatherers that are relevant to this discussion. They suggest that complex hunter-gatherers were semi-sedentary or sedentary and lived in substantial houses in settlements with relatively

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high population densities. Large quantities of processed and stored foods were needed to feed substantial numbers of people throughout the year. Ames and Maschner propose that populations relied intensively on a few productive subsistence resources, with numerous secondary resources, and that they manipulated their environment to increase productivity. This was accomplished by means of a specialized and complex technology. Finally, complex hunter-gatherers had social hierarchies and occupational specialization (see Ames and Maschner 1999:25–29 for a full discussion). The Chumash Indians at the time of European contact exhibited all the traits described by Ames and Maschner, in addition to other traits associated with complexity. These additional traits include hereditary leadership and a monetized economic system based on shell beads.

The concept that centrally located places often become influential centers is well known and is especially relevant to this discussion. In his seminal work on social organization in Native California, Lowell Bean (1976:102) observed that a central town often served as a political, economic, and ritual center in California Indian societies. Bean described exchange mechanisms associated with these centers. "Formal or informal trade feasts were set up between groups living in different ecological areas, so that goods from the mutually advantageous but politically separate areas were exchanged for those of others" (Bean 1976:120). Similarly, in a discussion on the transition from household-based to village-level organization, Kent Lightfoot and Gary Feinman (1982:67) suggest that sociopolitical ties are strengthened through exchange and marriage networks. They propose that as part of these regional exchange systems, active participants tend to live in centrally located settlements that are much larger than other villages, because costs associated with the movement of goods and the exchange of knowledge are minimized.

When considering centrally located places, transportation is of special importance. The development of reliable ocean-going boats is an essential technological innovation if long-distance maritime exchange is to occur (Kirch 1991, 2000; Yesner 1980), allowing groups greater access to resources, including prestige goods, marriage partners, and knowledge. Patrick Kirch (1984:242–243, 2000) viewed the development of canoes for long-distance voyages among Polynesian chiefdoms as being particularly significant in the process of political consolidation and the control of exchanges of prestige goods. Similarly, prehistoric exchange in western Melanesia was dominated by specialist traders who tended to maintain a monopoly on ocean-going canoes (Kirch 1991:156). Canoes were also a significant technological innovation that provided chiefs a significant advantage in the Chumash exchange system. They were also essen-

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tial in the intensification of maritime resource acquisition and the exploitation of the abundant food supply of the Chumash that was observed by the early chroniclers.

Brian Hayden (1995:21–22) has noted a strong correlation between resource abundance and the emergence of social complexity in the form of socioeconomic disparities. Hayden suggests that ample resources, paired with surpluses, were critical in creating inequalities, hierarchy, and economic complexity. Arnold (2001b:6) disagrees with Hayden on this point and instead suggests that leaders often benefit from stressful periods by manipulating resources, labor, or technology to their advantage. Certainly sustained drought conditions may have impacted Chumash subsistence practices, settlement sizes and locations, and regional interactions. Nevertheless, drought and other climactic changes generally have a greater impact on agricultural societies than on hunter-gatherer societies, particularly those that rely heavily on marine resources (Gamble 2003, 2005). It is well documented in the ethnographic and ethnohistoric record that California Indians had multiple strategies for adapting to changing environmental conditions (Blackburn and Anderson 1993). I support Hayden's (1995) argument that sociopolitical complexity developed during times of resource abundance, not scarcity. Once populations expanded and became more densely settled in the region, the Chumash became more vulnerable to risk. As a result, strategies were developed to address these greater risks. Although drought and El Niño events periodically occurred in the Santa Barbara Channel (and some were of great significance), the Chumash had developed coping mechanisms over a long period of time to reduce the risk of these recurring events (Gamble 2003). Strategies to reduce risk included exchange, storage, and the use of a system of currency. I suggest, in contrast to Arnold, that powerful individuals gained ever-increasing status and control over exchanges as the demand for prestige goods in the burgeoning mainland settlements increased.

The focus in this book is on the settlements that were centrally located within the Chumash region, their leaders, and the interactions of those leaders with each other and with individuals in more peripheral regions. An understanding of how chiefs and other powerful individuals in regional centers managed and retained power is crucial to this analysis. A useful framework for recognizing political strategies can be found in the work of both Richard Blanton et al. (1996) and others (Earle 2001; Feinman 2000; Renfrew 1974). Blanton and his colleagues, for example, have identified two types of political approaches: an exclusionary or network approach on the one hand, and a corporate approach on the other. These are not mutually exclusive and can be found within any given

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society, although one mode is often more pronounced than the other (Feinman 1995:264). Corporate power tends to emphasize the group, and shared collective representations with an emphasis on food production or staple finance are typical elements of corporate power strategies (Blanton et al. 1996; Earle 2001; Feinman 2000). Wealth is more evenly distributed under a corporate structure and power is shared. Examples of corporate groups include Puebloan societies (Earle 2001; Feinman et al. 2000) and the Classic Period Teotihuacan polity (Blanton et al. 1996). Material manifestations that characterize these societies frequently include monumental public architecture (with plazas and other spaces that are used for group ritual activities), a dearth of wealthy burials or royal tombs, and corporate labor systems involving irrigation canals or roads. Leaders are not easily identified in the archaeological record in societies that emphasize corporate identity.

Network power differs considerably, with an emphasis on individual power and wealth. The social relationships of individuals are tied to an extensive network system that is characterized by ceremonial displays and exchanges of marriage partners, gifts, and specialized knowledge (Blanton et al. 1996:4; Earle 2001:27). Long-distance networks that are typical of this strategy require maintenance, and can become expansive and competitive. In order to maintain and establish new trade partners and compete with other networks, there is a tendency for increased feasting, more abundant prestige goods, and heightened conflict to occur (Blanton et al. 1996; Feinman 2000). Power is revealed in ostentatious personal displays that are manifested both in life and in burial rituals. Chiefs that use network strategies attempt to control the production and/or distribution of prestige goods and valuables that represent wealth (Earle 2001).

An important component of network power is a system of wealth finance (D'Altroy and Earle 1985; Earle 1997), which involves an exchange of prestige goods, many of which have established values. These are often used to finance political officials and other individuals that maintain the system. In contrast, staple finance (which is tied to corporate political power) involves the collection of subsistence goods by a central power. One disadvantage of this strategy is the cost of transporting and storing bulky subsistence goods (D'Altroy and Earle 1985:188).

Concepts similar to network and corporate political strategies have been suggested previously but under a different rubric. Colin Renfrew (1974), for example, has recognized "group-oriented chiefdoms" and "individualizing chiefdoms" in prehistoric Europe. Renfrew suggests that group-oriented chiefdoms had limited regional ecological diversity, placed

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relatively little emphasis on technology, tended to use large public works for communal activities, and often lacked "princely burials." He characterizes individualizing chiefdoms as societies that emphasized warfare, personal wealth, and prestige goods, the latter of which were often found associated with burials. He suggests that in some cases these societies lacked large public works, except for structures associated with the chief such as residences and tombs (Renfrew 1974:79).

I propose that the Chumash at European contact practiced a network strategy (i.e., they had an individualizing chiefdom in Renfrew's terms), with an emphasis on wealth finance. I also believe that this strategy was not a recent development but had existed for centuries in the region (Gamble et al. 2001). The issues of social hierarchy, economic networks, sources of chiefly power, craft specialization, feasting, competition and conflict, technological intensification, and wealth finance are thoroughly investigated in this volume. The primary focus of this book is the mainland population centers and their economic, political, and ceremonial interactions with the Chumash in more peripheral areas of the region.

However, before I begin the discussion of Chumash sociopolitical and economic life, I will provide some background on the cultural ecology of the Chumash. The environment in 1769 is reconstructed on the basis of historic accounts and other documentation. Resources of significance to the Chumash are discussed, with a special emphasis on the Goleta Slough area. Next, a cultural context for the Chumash at the time of historic contact is established. I then present a brief overview of the archaeologists, anthropologists, and others who provide important information on the Chumash, with a discussion of the strengths, weaknesses, and biases inherent in their data. A more detailed description of the historic settlements in the mainland Santa Barbara coastal region follows, along with a synthesis of the available demographic data (such as the number of canoes, houses, and people in each town). Archaeological information on the size, layout, and types of settlements is also provided. The nature of houses and of the activities that occurred within them is of primary significance in understanding the patterns of production, consumption, and power at the household level. More specific information on houses, sweatlodges, other structures, and features is presented in chapter 5. This is followed by an overview of the subsistence strategies of the mainland Chumash, along with archaeological and ethnohistoric evidence that sheds light on the technological complexity of the Chumash, their storage capabilities, the importance and timing of their feasting, and their diet. The role that gender played in labor investments associated with subsistence activities

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and the production of feasts is also addressed, as is the impact that colonization had on the Chumash.

Ethnohistoric and ethnographic accounts have shown that chiefs and canoe owners were often the same individuals. They and other individuals with leadership roles are considered in some detail in this book, as is the overall political system of the Chumash, especially in the mainland settlements. The elaborate economic interactions of the mainland settlements, including the production, distribution, and consumption of exchange goods, are explored next. An understanding of plank canoe ownership, and of how canoe owners controlled transportation, is essential for reconstructing and understanding the Chumash economic network. The significance of bead money in the elaborate economic transactions of the Chumash, as well as the importance of the use and distribution of prestige goods, are integral to this examination. Finally, evidence of conflict within the Chumash region is documented from early historical accounts and from bioarchaeological data, although considerable evidence suggests that various mechanisms for social integration were also in operation. Data on conflict in the Chumash region are synthesized and discussed in the context of sociopolitical integration.

By the end of this book, the reader should have a coherent picture of the Chumash in the mainland centers at their height of sociopolitical complexity. The sources of Chumash political power—in the context of socioeconomic interactions—is a major subject of discussion. The role of leaders in the main population centers is contrasted with that of leaders in more peripheral areas. Wealth finance, status differentiation, technological innovations such as the plank canoe, warfare, feasting, and other dynamics of social organization are all considered and linked to theoretical discussions on the nature of power.

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